HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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THE GREAT VICTORY: It is no secret that most members of Congress still remain awed and stunned by the unexpected adoption of the Landrum-Griffin "tough" labor reform bill last Thursday, by a vote of 229 to 201. Even zealous advocates of the measure had privately given up hope of passage, although predicting a close vote. On the morrow, excitement reigned because the vote stood in striking contrast to the admitted fact that labor union political activity had proven the major factor in electing last November what was prematurely termed a "liberal, pro-labor" Congress.

In a brow-furrowing effort to digest this epochal upset, veterans on Capitol Hill have come up with the mature judgment: "This was a victory for the innate conservatism of the American people."

The American people, shallow observers have often claimed, are "liberal." On the contrary, this proves the contention long held by HUMAN EVENTS, *that they are fundamentally conservative. Given a chance to make a choice, they insist that their representatives in Congress vote conservatively on a clear-cut issue.*

Again and again, it is remarked these days on Capitol Hill: the people are more conservative than their Congress; and the Congress is more conservative than the "liberal" pundits in the press and on the radio have reported.

The heartening corollary follows: Senators and Congressmen, where they have an enlightened and aroused constituency behind them, will courageously vote their judgment and the expression of the will of the folks back home. This conclusion destroys the belief—too current on Capitol Hill—that parliamentary tricks are necessary to get through sound legislation. Thus, on the non-record teller vote on the Landrum-Griffin bill, the supporting majority was 15. But when the roll call vote, placing each legislator on record, was called, the majority actually rose to 28. Real representative government can work.

Like all other great events, the victory arose naturally from an inexorably developing conservative trend ever since the supposedly "liberal" Congress started last January. The public demand for a "sound dollar," the fast growing opposition to "inflationary" measures, and for fiscal and budgetary soundness, resistance to public power and other socialistic pretensions—all showed up first in the switch by the Democratic congressional leaders from a "liberal," giveaway policy to what those leaders termed a "moderate" or middle-of-the-road handling of pieces of legislation.

Behind all this—as careful analyses by observers here sum it up—was the tapping of the residual conservatism at the grass roots. Conservatives, haltingly before last fall's election and alerted and alarmed after the election, swelled a growing movement of political action now ever widening among segments of American business.

Next, President Eisenhower—with an ameliorated situation in the White House after Sherman Adams left—began to find himself. His forthright TV speech calling for passage of the Landrum-Griffin bill on August 6 served as a tocsin to the accumulating political action of the grass roots. The consequent mail to Congressmen was tremendous.

"The biggest mail I've seen since Americans protested Truman's firing of General MacArthur in 1951," remarked one legislator.

Then, Senator McClellan's labor rackets crusade—at first only against corruption, then widening to include a bill of rights for union members—laid much of the groundwork; so that, when on the eve of the voting, McClellan called over from the Senate for passage of the Landrum-Griffin bill, he swayed many votes, particularly among Southerners. Also, GOP House Leader Halleck worked wonders in rounding up Republicans (he lost only 17 out of 153).

Finally—from the parliamentary standpoint, the decisive "man of the hour" was Representative Howard "Judge" Smith (D.-Va.), head of the powerful Rules Committee. Without his all permeating influence, the 92 Democrats from the South and border states would undoubtedly have split. That would have prevented the 229 to 201 victory on Thursday which led to final overwhelming triumph. "Judge" Smith and Charley Halleck recreated in striking form the "Old Coalition" of bipartisan Northern and Southern conservatives, first started in the Forties by Senator Robert Taft and Representative Joseph Martin.

After Friday's 303-124 passage, House members said: The Senate can pass this bill, without going to conference—under preferential motion to "recede and concur."

All this, in the face of the massive lobby of the labor oligarchy, working around the clock in the Capital—a sight which had to be seen to be believed. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were poured into the fight against Landrum-Griffin on the few acres of ground around the Nation's Capitol. Heavy-set men, easily identifiable as labor lobbyists, roved the corridors of hotels on the Hill (where many solons live), knocking on doors early and late. One lobbyist was heard to say, poking his finger in the face of a Congressman, "Listen, you, this is it. You'll do this or else." And not without effect, for this grim fact stares us in the face, as a warning for the future, that the

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fight isn't yet over: *122 out of 184 Democrats who voted against the Landrum-Griffin bill on Thursday took labor money in the last election.*

The fight is not finished—the center of labor monopoly power has yet to be breached next session. But the fight to cut down labor union power (a few courageous souls early concluded) had to be waged. (This is why, commencing five years ago, HUMAN EVENTS started its labor campaign and gave extraordinary coverage to progress on labor reform.)

The crusade for labor reform enjoys early endorsement from one of the great idols of the labor movement, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis who, seeking to protect many years ago the nascent union movement, nevertheless feared unions might eventually acquire too much power and misuse it. He said, in this connection, "Absolute power leads to excesses."

Rockefeller Tactics: A strong undercurrent of resentment against the GOP Presidential nomination strategy being employed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller has now gushed to the surface. Under particularly sharp attack is the inference by him and his backers that "Nixon can't win," a line reminiscent of the one that defeated Senator Robert Taft at the 1952 GOP convention and destroyed the solidarity of the Republican party.

Out in Los Angeles, County Republican Central Committee Chairman Alphonzo Bell, Jr., said last week that not only is the "Nixon can't win" argument false, it goes against the best interests of Nixon, Rockefeller and the Republican party for these reasons: (1) A victory-at-any-cost argument does not inspire public confidence, (2) such an argument is conspicuously destructive rather than constructive in nature, and (3) the thesis that Nixon can't win has been disproved in every campaign in which the Vice President has been a candidate.

Rockefeller is also being criticized for his announcement that he would let the results of public opinion polls in November determine whether he will "formally" enter the Presidential race. As columnist Arthur Krock pointed out in the *New York Times* recently, not only do polls frequently fail to interpret accurately the sentiment of the voters, but it's a long time between November, 1959 and November, 1960.

"In the case of a withdrawal either by Nixon or Rockefeller on the basis of sample polls," Krock commented, "subsequent developments could make a colossal joke of their verdict, and be disastrous to the people."

● At the same time, the polls themselves are not treating Rockefeller very well. Latest of a long line reflecting Nixon's greater popularity comes from San Diego, California, where a newspaper survey shows Nixon far in front of Rockefeller among GOP candidates, and also leading all candidates of both parties among all voters—with almost double the percentage of the runnerup, "front-running" Senator John F. Kennedy.

Khrushchev Visit: Protests are mounting in Washington and elsewhere against Eisenhower's invitation to Khrushchev. Significantly, Democrats are as frequent as Republicans in denouncing the visit—which bodes no good for the GOP next year.

Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) repeated his firm opposition, adding, "I will be in New Hampshire when Khrushchev comes." Bridges said he was disturbed by the effect of the visit in the free world, as well as among the captive nations. He added that "no top American officials should go touring the country with Khrushchev."

Fletcher Knebel, a local wit in the Washington Star, summed up the situation in a dozen words: "Khrushchev's motto for his US visit: 'I come, I thaw, I conquer.'"

Representative Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.), whose district includes many people of Polish and Lithuanian descent, called for President Eisenhower to demand liberation of the captive nations when he meets Khrushchev, and Representative Thomas J. Lane (D.-Mass.) said the Administration has "reached for the umbrella of appeasement." Lane's generally "liberal" voting record indicates that Democrats of all persuasions are ready to turn the GOP victory slogan of 1952 to their own good next year. (It is noted here that the protest against the visit by former Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by John McCormack, House floor leader of the *Democrats*!)

Others throughout the country echo these comments. George Resnick, New Hampshire commander of the Jewish War Veterans, said pointedly, "The invitation to Khrushchev should also include an invitation to our Russian-imprisoned American GI's." The Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, William O. Brady, wrote "How stupid can we get, especially when we had Mr. K on the defensive?" referring to the Captive Nations Week proclamation which angered the Reds. Herbert Philbrick, who risked his life for years as an FBI counterspy, called for Congress to adjourn before Khrushchev arrives, and said, "The streets along the route of the Khrushchev tour should be completely abandoned. Buildings, if draped at all, should be draped in black."

Many patriotic groups and individuals have made similar suggestions. One organization, the recently formed Americans for Constitutional Action, is seeking to serve as a catalyst of the various proposals and plans, keeping the interested parties in touch with each other and helping to promote any common plan of action which may be developed.

Admiral Ben Moreell, chairman of the board of trustees of ACA, told HUMAN EVENTS, "We should ask these questions, 'Do we, by inviting this visitor to our shores, give implied moral sanction to his past performances and those of the Government he represents? Are we prepared to endorse, as conforming with our concept of Judeo-Christian moral values, the cruel actions with respect to Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Tibet, and the other enslaved satellite countries? Do such actions conform to our concept of the nature of things as they should be?'"

● The sheer folly of the Khrushchev visit from a security standpoint was brought home forcefully last week. A Hungarian refugee youth, bitter at the sight of Russian and American flags side by side at the Soviet Exhibition in New York, hid in the fair building until it closed, then tried to cut down the Red flag, but fell in the attempt, injuring himself. Security experts here point to this incident as an example of the strong feelings of refugees on US-Russian "friendship." They admit

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that "anyone can assassinate a political figure if he is willing to die himself in doing it." Among the thousands of refugees in this country, at least one may be willing to die with Khrushchev. And it only takes one, say the experts, to start World War III.

Capitol Camera: The fact that Nikita Khrushchev started as a coal miner has been discussed among those in the Capital planning his trip and has brought forth the suggestion that the obvious guide to show the visiting Soviet dictator the progress of American miners is none other than John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers Union of America. Lewis knows a great deal about coal mining all over the world and could doubtless offer the Russian chieftain some comparisons between what members of his union earn and what miners in Soviet Russia get. Also, the hard-punching union head—somewhat a dictator in his own right — might well be happy at a chance for "toe-to-toe" verbal conflict with Khrushchev and the results might prove as exciting as the Nixon-Khrushchev exchanges in Moscow.

● "Red Flags in the Sunshine" may be the theme during Khrushchev's September visit to Washington. The hammer and sickle—the symbol of international Communist conspiracy—will fly at the Blair House and, if the visit is deemed state rather than official, possibly all over town. After giving HUMAN EVENTS a runaround, the State Department's chief of protocol refused to discuss the subject of how many Commie flags will fly over American heads.

The Nixon Saga: What acute newsmen on the Nixon caravan to and from Soviet Russia think of as the highlights of the famous trip have been conveyed privately to HUMAN EVENTS, as follows:

(1) The proclamation of the US Congress' Captive Nations Resolution was the luckiest and most fruitful part of the whole trip. It hit Moscow and enraged the Soviet rulers just as Nixon's plane approached the Russian capital. Its effect was excellent because it triggered the attempts by Khrushchev and Soviet agents to heckle Nixon. The Vice President's retorts, rebuttals and attendant remarks justifying the West and the US policy of recent years, made the trip "world news," instead of what it might have been—a boresome "travelogue." In the face of Nixon rejoinders, the Soviet regime and its planted hecklers finally gave up.

(2) "The Man Who Came to Dinner" is what the caravan boys called their fellow-traveler, Milton Eisenhower. Nixon initially had no idea of taking Milton along. Some time before the trip, he happened to meet the President's brother in a White House corridor and the latter remarked, "I have to go to Moscow to see the exhibition." Whereupon Nixon replied generously, "Oh really? Well, why don't you come along on my plane?" Milton all too quickly accepted.

Throughout the trip, the President's egghead brother stuck to Nixon's elbow "like a cocklebur." Many on the trip think he knew before the journey started that Ike had asked Khrushchev to visit America. (Nixon, it is believed, did not, although he had suspicions.)

(3) Did Nixon's speech reach the vast majority of the Russian people? Only to a very limited extent on TV and radio. An American monitoring service reported that Nixon's address was not relayed or retransmitted to domestic radio stations in Russia, and that it did not reach millions of Russian citizens, as officially stated at the time. (Re Willard Edwards' story in the *Chicago Tribune* for August 13.) This treatment is regarded as a violation of the Soviet promise to give the speech wide dissemination.

(4) What evidence appeared that the Russian people are seriously discontented with their masters? None on the surface. The secret police were very noticeable in European Russia, much less so in Siberia. "Men in the street," by their questions, showed clearly they had not accepted unreservedly the anti-American propaganda they had been fed by Soviet press and radio. No skilled observer on the trip would say categorically either (1) that the people would overthrow their masters or (2) that they were happy, contented and would never do so. The latter view seems to have been accepted by some of the American Governors on their recent trip.

(5) Visit to Poland: Undoubtedly, the Polish anti-Government "underground" or "grapevine" organized the outpouring of 300,000 people in Warsaw to greet and cheer Nixon. The jittery US Embassy in Warsaw strongly advised the Nixon party not to give the true estimates of the throng nor to emphasize the turnout.

(6) Significantly for American conservatives—Nixon in his remarks behind the Iron Curtain rather consistently called the American way of life "capitalism," not "democracy" (as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has done).

Nixon was "tougher" with Khrushchev than reported. When "Mr. K" said, "We can destroy New York overnight," Nixon snapped back, "You do and you'll get the hell kicked out of you."

(7) What's Nixon's real, off-record attitude towards K's trip to the US? Confidentially, he does not think the Russian dictator will be affected in the slightest by what he sees of America's might. Some reporters had the feeling that Nixon did not like the Khrushchev-Ike exchange idea—that he was surprised when it was suddenly announced.

GOP Primary Fight: A former high official of the Republican National Committee has launched a bitter attack on Republican Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, who faces a lively renomination fight next year. James P. Selvage of Flemington, New Jersey, made the attack; he was assistant to the GOP Chairman in 1943-44, and in recent years has been a power in New Jersey state politics.

Selvage also attacked "liberal" Charles P. Taft of Ohio, who is conducting a fund drive for Case. He described Charles P. Taft as the late Senator Robert A. Taft's "undistinguished" brother and "a frustrated person who has been used by radicals over the years." Charles P. Taft defended Case, saying the latter had supported Eisenhower in 85% of his Senate votes. Selvage retorted that Case had voted with the President largely "in minor votes of no consequence" and "deserted him repeatedly";

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also that Case had voted for the housing bill subsquently vetoed by Ike in an effort to please the AFL-CIO and the Americans for Democratic Action. Case later voted to sustain the veto only because, he said, he did not think the House would override it.

The Selvage comments are a reflection of a growing movement by GOP conservatives for defeating Case for renomination. One of Case's big supporters in his 1954 election campaign, General Robert W. Johnson of Johnson and Johnson Company, has turned against the Senator and is reportedly backing former Judge Robert Morris who served in Washington as counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for a number of years. Morris ran unsuccessfully for the GOP senatorial nomination in 1958, but racked up a very respectable vote. He is now "beating the bushes" throughout the state, making many speeches.

Wave of Protectionism: Probably nothing much will be done about it in this session, but as adjournment approaches, Capitol Hill people predict that when Congress meets next January, there will be energetic actions to deal with what is already being called "the import menace." Significant is the fact that protests emanate not only from Pennsylvania and New England, but from far-off Kansas and—a new phenomenon—from the heart of the "liberal" CIO in New York City.

Thus, Senator Andrew Schoeppel (R.-Kan.) writes an article for papers in Kansas (once the motherland of free trade), which says, "It is to our self interest to see that we maintain the standard of living which we now have. If we do not take care of our own self interests, we will soon have no interests to take care of."

He points to the textile industry: "The Japanese can buy American cotton 7½ cents per pound cheaper than Americans and can manufacture it into textiles and export it to the United States for one-half the price that it can be produced in our country. In 1947 this country exported $748 million worth of all textiles and imported $24 million worth. In 1955 our exports were only $242 million and our imports had reached $123 million. Three hundred textile mills have been closed in Atlantic Seaboard States and 345,000 Americans have lost their jobs in textile industries."

As for electrical equipment, "American wage rates are around $3 an hour which enables foreign countries, which pay less than one-third that amount an hour, to underbid us by as much as 60 percent."

And the Kansas Senator adds: "We are making the United States the worst place in the world to buy and the best place in the world to sell in. If we continue we will have full employment in Milan and Manila and increasing unemployment in Topeka and Detroit."

Schoeppel winds up: "Labor leaders who have endorsed the exportation of American technological skills and capital and, at the same time, have supported international give-away programs will eventually have to answer to American union members who cannot find a job."

This latter statement places the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, one of the most "liberal" of CIO unions, on the hot spot. Its President, Jacob Potofsky, recently uttered a loud cry of pain about the "import tide." He deplored the increase of apparel imports, including tailored clothing, from abroad, "particularly from Japan and Hong Kong." He said that "the competitive advantage of imported apparel is rooted in sub-standard wages, the equivalent of ten cents an hour, and degrading working conditions." Confessing that his union had supported the reciprocal trade programs, he lamented that "it [reciprocal trade] was never intended to be an instrument for destroying an important American industry by unfair competition from sweated labor abroad." Around Washington it is remarked, "as the Amalgamated goes, so will go all of the AFL-CIO."

The Illegitimacy Racket: Unwed mothers have found a new method of robbing the taxpayers, one even more brazen and fraudulent than those reported recently by this publication (see "The Illegitimacy Racket," by John J. Synon, in HUMAN EVENTS for June 24, 1959).

From California, Mr. Synon now relays to us a new phase of the illegitimacy racket, as reported by Marin County District Attorney William Weissich. The D.A.'s investigators have turned up a number of cases where unwed mothers cash their welfare checks, report to their social workers that they have lost this cash, then draw a second check in the amount of the first upon signing a statement that if the "lost" money is found, it will be returned to the welfare people.

Weissich says that he has told the welfare agency that, with a little cooperation, he could stop this hoax on the taxpayers. His plan is to make those who "lose" their money take a lie detector test. Weissich's plan, however, has been met with horror-struck expressions from the social workers.

"They said such a test would inflict psychic trauma on these women," the D.A. explains.

Even without the "lost" money routine, California mothers with no resident "husband," or none that the D.A. can pin down, make a good living at their career. Girls and women in this category will pick up some $153 million this year in state and federal funds. Some of them receive welfare checks in excess of $400 each and every month that they "mother" minor children.

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Article Section I

A Letter to Bankers and Insurance Executives

Why the Nation Needs Your Activity in Politics

By THE HON. STYLES BRIDGES

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IN RECENT MONTHS various corporations have announced their intention of becoming active in politics. Programs have been established to encourage employees to register and work for the party of their choice. Political activity once frowned upon by many corporations as "too controversial" is now being accepted as one of the civic responsibilities of Americans.

Intelligence has recently been received from the great metropolitan centers of the United States that insurance and banking institutions are also becoming concerned with the importance of political activity on the part of their employees.

It seems clear that the votes of the great numbers of "blue and white collar" workers offer the only hope of balancing the various political pressure groups including the extremes of the labor movement.

It is encouraging, therefore, that bankers and insurance men have determined to discard the ancient antipathy toward politics which has characterized these professions and are launching a program to protect the public interest. This is a very laudable activity and in the words of Shakespeare:

" 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished."

While the grand master plan for political activity is being designed, however, politics continues as usual in Washington, D. C. It is for this reason that I am writing to you.

It happens that the most vital problems which face our Nation at this time concern matters which lie within your domain of special competence. Never before has your guidance and sound advice been so desperately needed by our legislators.

The problems of inflation, deficit financing, interest rates, the role of the Federal Reserve System and the question of gold supply, *et al,* are complex and confusing to the average Senator and Congressman.

Crackpot plans and panaceas are being daily advocated by those who little realize that most of their suggestions have in the past caused economic collapse of civilizations. All too often those who are uninhibited by the facts grab the spotlight and get the publicity.

May I respectfully submit to the banking and insurance fraternity, therefore, a list of items now pending before the councils of our Government, which need immediate, aggressive and enthusiastic attention by men like yourselves who are experts in the field:

1. The President and the Treasury Department have requested permission of the Congress to *remove the fixed interest rates on Government borrowings.*

Demagogues have attempted to make this request appear as an insidious conspiracy against the "little man" and for the benefit of the Wall Street bankers' vested interests.

It is clear to you that if we are to have a free economy, we must maintain a free money market. Government bonds must be sold on the basis of their safety and their yield and must compete for the purchaser's dollar with other investments available. Accordingly, interest rates in a free society can never be fixed by anyone except the prospective buyer.

It would be very helpful if bankers and insurance executives would testify to this fundamental, economic truth before the various committees of Congress concerned with the problem.

It would be a great public service if bankers and insurance men all over the country communicated with their local, state and Federal representatives and dispelled the smoke screen of socialistic propaganda on this subject.

This question of interest rates is immediate and pending business before the Congress.

How many of your colleagues have made their feelings known? How many of your correspondent banks have been actively recruited in this struggle?

Certainly Congressmen Wilbur Mills and Richard Simpson, of the House Ways and Means Committee, and Senators Harry Byrd and John Williams, of the Senate Finance Committee, would appreciate a statement of your views.

There is still time to be effective, but there is no time to be leisurely.

EVERY SIZEABLE COMMUNITY in the United States has some type of banking and insurance facility. In addition to providing a repository for the funds of the people and financing local projects, do you agree that your profession has some responsibility for the economic education of your customers?

If so, haven't we reached the time when local

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bankers and insurance brokers should be organized on a national basis in order to carry the message of the importance of fiscal solvency throughout their communities?

Is it not desirable for local bankers and insurance men to utilize every opportunity before the service clubs, fraternal organizations and civic meetings to emphasize the present dangers of irresponsible and socialistic monetary and fiscal policies?

Is it not necessary for informed people like you to tell the parents of your community what is being done to the legacy of their children?

In modernization programs of banking and insurance institutions, in which the business machines play such a large part, have you allowed finance to become so impersonal that the customer has ceased to be a man and is merely a number?

The traditional and honored role of economic counselor and adviser to the local community must not be lost by bankers in the whirring of electronic machines.

2. It has been said that, *"Those who know better should say so."*

Officials of financial and insurance institutions do not normally write letters to the editor; but who else is to challenge the fallacious schemes which are proposed daily in both editorial and news columns by persons who are generally unqualified and ill-equipped to speak on monetary and fiscal matters?

A recent editorial in the St. Petersburg (Fla.) *Times*, for example, advocated the hackneyed, repudiated theory of escalation clauses for Government bonds. This would provide that Government bonds at maturity would be redeemed for face value plus a sum equal to the amount of inflation which had occurred since the date of issuance.

To those who have difficulty with thinking this proposal might have some appeal: Should it go unchallenged in the public press; or should the bankers and insurance executives of Florida, independently and collectively, register their professional opinion concerning such an absurd proposition?

It is difficult to select at random a metropolitan newspaper without finding some items of false economics to which the bankers and insurance men of America should address themselves.

3. At the present time *an assault is being aimed at the Federal Reserve System* in an attempt to use this agency as an instrument to promote cheap money and easy credit.

The scheme is patently preposterous, but how will the people of America ever know unless professionals like yourselves inform them?

4. There is presently *an organized campaign to promote "a little inflation."*

Left-wing economists and socialistic politicians are trying to convince the public that "creeping inflation" is inevitable, necessary and desirable.

Yet, with blatant intellectual dishonesty, they add that this inflation will be controlled at a level of from two to four per cent a year.

Obviously, if inflation is inevitable, once it starts spiraling it cannot be controlled at any annual percentage level. The ultimate reckoning of creeping inflation has always been collapse and chaos.

Only the bankers and insurance men of America are in a position to inform the people as to hazards of the weird economic propositions with which we are being bombarded daily.

May I emphasize that in no way do I advocate your activities be characterized as partisan politics. Your professional colleagues throughout the Nation belong to both great political parties.

In the House of Representatives and the Senate of the US Congress, there are many members from both political parties who realize the importance of the matters which we are here discussing. Unfortunately, they are not in the majority. However, they have steadfastly opposed irresponsible fiscal proposals. These individuals need all the support and assistance which you can give them.

NATIONAL SOLVENCY and sound fiscal policies transcend partisan politics. They are not legitimate matters of debate. They are matters of fact! They have been established by the entire history of man's social and economic organization.

Eventually our survival may depend upon the action we take in respect to these problems.

Other nations of the world such as Japan, Argentina, Germany, Great Britain, France and, in fact, the entire European Economic Community have awakened to the necessity for putting their fiscal houses in order.

As members of the banking and insurance professions you now have the strategic opportunity to be of inestimable service to the Nation and to the world.

Please assert yourself now and speak out with vigor and authority before it is too late.

Styles Bridges of New Hampshire is the ranking Republican member of the US Senate, ranking Republican member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. His most recent article to appear in HUMAN EVENTS was "The American Heritage," June 3, 1959.

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Article Section II

Don't Rob Your Children of Struggle

Our Youth Must be Trained to Face Tomorrow's Challenge

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By THE HON. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

"THE CHESSBOARD is a symbol of life—of all life. The essence of life is struggle. Take struggle out of chess, or out of life, and what is left? In chess I have found happiness." Those words were spoken 35 years ago by Emmanuel Lasker of Berlin, who had reigned as world chess champion for 24 years.

Lasker was not a mental freak. He had a Ph.D. in mathematics and wrote a profound book on philosophy. He had come to my home town of South Bend to put on an exhibition match with some 30 local chess players. At supper that night we asked him why he had given so much of his life to chess. He gave the response quoted above.

That was a long time ago, but I have never forgotten his words. I have often said to young parents, "Don't take struggle out of your children's lives." The instinct of fathers and mothers is to do just that—to make "life easier for my boy than it was for me." It is interesting to note that youth is sounder in this matter than age. Youth revels in competitive sport, whether to do something better than its fellows, or to beat some previous record. Even small children, when they invent games of their own, always put struggle into them. Struggle is a blessing to be sought for, not an evil to be avoided.

IN RECENT YEARS, society has gone "nuts" on the pusillanimous cult of "security" guaranteed by Government; in short, a Nation of parasites. The illusion of the age is that people can vote themselves rich. It is a superstition that "social security" depends on the promises of politicians, not on the character, competence and courage of men. It is a fable and a fraud that the output of society can be greater than the input of individuals.

It is a universal complaint that nobody wants to work any more, or only enough to "get by." Employers are frantic for dependable employees. Labor unions have the laudable desire to improve the position of their members, but they overplay their hand when they say, "Stretch it out. Take it easy. Do no more than enough to stay on the payroll."

When young people apply for their first jobs, they ask, "When will I begin to draw a pension? How many coffee breaks in a day? How many paid [illegible] How long and frequent are the paid vaca- [illegible] more than 40 hours in a week,

The young men who ask none of these questions are sure to get and hold jobs. These young men have a golden age ahead of them. They will have less competition than their kind of men ever had—and greater rewards.

Theodore Roosevelt attracted national attention when he said: "I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life." He said of himself, "Let me wear out, not rust out." He told young men to hit the line hard. At a time when any woman who had more than two children was considered sub-human, if not a little indecent, he told women not to shirk their prime function to bear children.

Theodore Roosevelt dreamed nobly of his country, and, by the fire of his example, lit other fires in millions of homes. It was said that Washington founded the Nation, Lincoln saved it, and T.R. revitalized it. He appealed to the strong side of men as is now chiefly done by Marine sergeants and the coaches of athletics like my old friend, Knute Rockne.

"Rock" had no use for "lounge lizards" or "tea hounds" on a college campus. Youth liked that. They flocked to Notre Dame to play under him, and when his players were behind at the half, they proceeded to pull the game out of the fire because "we can't let 'Rock' down."

A CENTURY AGO Giuseppe Garibaldi appealed to the strong side of men with these words: "Young men of Italy, I offer you nothing but the water of the streams as your drink. I offer you nothing but black bread as your food, and nothing but the blue canopy of heaven and the lights of the eternal stars as your covering at night. But if you follow me, young men of Italy, you and I will be free!" They followed him and Italy became a united country.

But today, the general appeal is to the soft side of men—envy, self-pity, covetousness, class hatred. Our elections have become auctions in which rival politicians of both old parties open the door of the Treasury in exchange for votes. "Come and get it" is the slogan as people become the vandals of their own country and "bread and circuses" the formula for political advancement.

Men like John Dewey have tried to eliminate struggle from the classroom. No required subjects! No examinations! They develop inferiority complexes, rather than the challenge to do better. Never

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punish a child. Children should be wholly free. And so forth. The result is that employers despair because "Johnny can't read and Mabel can't spell."

So we have cities with few citizens; many who wish to share the blessings of liberty, but shirk its burdens. This is not the spirit of 1776, nor of the great chess master, nor of Theodore Roosevelt. America needs a rebirth of "the strenuous life" and I know I am talking to young men who will take their part in it.

It was said of those who crossed the Appalachians down into the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Missouri and pushed the frontiers of Freedom to the Pacific shore that "the cowards never started and the weak never arrived. With no capital save courage and no resource except resourcefulness they built the American empire."

In Vermont there are hundreds of miles of stone walls—every stone dug from the ground and moved to where it now lies by ox-power and human muscle alone. We think of the Pyramids of Egypt, and the tens of thousands of slaves who dragged the huge stones across the desert under the whips of their masters. It is my guess that the stone walls of Vermont represent more toil than the Pyramids. But the walls were laid by the free choice of free men. "They scorned delights and lived laborious days."

Avoid struggle and life becomes sterile, vapid and meaningless. Our mental hospitals are being filled with thousands of neurotics, many of whom feel inadequate to meet life because they were protected from taking the bumps in childhood.

No man was ever greater than the difficulties he overcame. Great difficulties, great men. Small difficulties, small men. From struggle comes strength—and physical and mental health.

It is only struggle that calls forth hidden powers we do not know we have. The great psychologist, William James, said the average person does not put forth more than ten per cent of his potential.

My great grandfather, Peter Pettengill, came to Vermont in 1787. One time his hired man was chopping down trees in the virgin forest and did not come to the house at noon for lunch. My great grandfather went to see what was wrong. He found that a tree had fallen on the hired man and killed him. With nothing but the strength of his own powerful body, Peter lifted the tree off the dead man and carried him to the house.

Whence came his strength to do that? From the challenge before him. That tree was never cut into timber or firewood. It lay where it fell. Other strong men in the neighborhood came and tried to lift it. They could not. Why? Because they did not have the incentive that Peter had. Nor could Peter himself ever lift the tree again. The incentive was gone.

You have all seen athletes at times "play over their heads." Why? Because of the challenge and its acceptance.

It is men who have counted struggle as a blessing who get the big rewards of life. As Emerson said, "God keeps an honest account with men."

The hard surgical case, where life hangs by a heart beat, does not go to the dilettante surgeon. The tough engineering problem, like building a bridge across a mighty river, does not go to the engineer who has always looked for the easy jobs. And the same for lawyers, and top executives in business.

If at times you feel that you "did not have the same chance" that others have, ask yourself what chance did Abraham Lincoln have? Remember that "it is not so much the size of the dog in the fight that counts, but the size of the fight in the dog."

YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY face a time of struggle with an enemy of our country more dangerous than King George III in 1776—the godless Caesars of atheistic communism. Let's lick it. Put it and all its teaching out of our schools, churches, public affairs and private life. What our fathers bequeathed us is still "the last best hope of earth." Save it for our boys and girls.

Remember robust Robert Browning: "I count life just a stuff to try the soul's strength on, educe the man."

Remember Tennyson's Ulysses and the old Greeks "who ever with a frolic welcome took the thunder and the sunshine"—hard hours with the same zest as the pleasant ones.

Remember the poem of the frontier:

"I dream no dream of a nursemaid state
That spoons me out my food.
No, the stout heart sings in its strife with fate,
For the toil and the sweat are good."

Samuel B. Pettengill, author, lecturer and commentator, was a Member of Congress from Indiana, 1931-39. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "Attack on the Oil Industry," April 15, 1959.

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